

## New York Tribune.

First to Last—The Truth—News—Editorial—Advertisements.

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## The Second Battle of Ypres.

Despite the reports which have so far been published describing the contest now proceeding about Ypres, it is by no means clear that the present struggle is comparable with the great battle of November fought on the same fields. In the earlier struggle some 120,000 British troops, hastily detached and sent into the gap between the extreme left of the French and the sea, were suddenly assailed by something like half a million Germans, including the famous Prussian Guard.

No opportunity came to the British to erect permanent or semi-permanent defenses; they fought in hastily constructed field trenches. Much of the fighting was bayonet work, and nothing in the whole progress of the war in the western field can be compared for casualties with this first battle of Ypres. The British lines endured the storm. Presently, reinforced by French army corps, they yielded a little, but hung on to Ypres.

The purpose of German strategy in November was plain. Calais and the other Channel ports were the immediate objective; the destruction of the British army and a second advance to Paris a possible outcome. The whole Allied left flank in France and Belgium was in deadly peril. Not even Waterloo was a more closely run race than the battle of Ypres.

But a second fight on the same ground opens wholly new horizons. First of all, British strength in France has risen from 120,000 to 750,000. Not all of the 750,000—probably not more than half—are on the firing line; but this is the number that held Ypres in November. In artillery the improvement has been enormous. To the westward about Neuport, where 50,000 Belgians, the remnant of the defenders of Antwerp, repulsed the Germans, there are now 120,000, six divisions reorganized, supported by new artillery.

Beyond these advantages lies that incident to the fortification of Allied lines. For months this work has gone on, trench by trench, one line upon another; the British, Belgians and French have dug themselves into a position, held once under terrible pressure, when it was hardly fortified at all.

Under the circumstances it is difficult to believe that the Kaiser's commanders are undertaking to resume the earlier and more ambitious strategy which aimed at Calais, Dunkirk and Rouleigne. All told, with available reserves, the British, Belgian and French forces must number close to a million on this narrow front, and a German concentration of equal numbers is not now conceivable.

On the other hand, it is plain that the Germans have won about Ypres, to the west of the town, a local triumph wholly comparable with that of the British at Neuve Chapelle. They have won it, too, in much the same way. First, there has been the concentration of artillery—the great bombardment, supplemented here by the use of gas filled projectiles. Then has come the great rush, as at Neuve Chapelle. Finally the German advance has been checked, the Germans have consolidated the ground taken and the Allies have resorted to counter attacks, which have been more or less successful, as German or Allied statements are accepted.

Now, on the present evidence this is a perfect repetition of the Allied tactics of "sibbling" which were exemplified at Neuve Chapelle and about St. Mihiel. It is a fight for local advantage, an effort to take a position of real but local strategic value and to inflict enormous losses on the opponent by forcing him to make costly counter attacks to regain his lost ground.

The point selected by the Germans for their attack, west of Ypres instead of east, where they advanced in the autumn, is a natural target. Could they actually break through the line here, and were there no line of defense in the rear, they could penetrate between the Belgians and the British, throw the Belgians back upon Dunkirk and roll the English in upon the French at La Bassée.

But in the whole western fighting since the battle of the Aisne opened neither side has succeeded in any such grandiose operation. Roads and half miles have been the measure of local advantages, and momentary success in piercing first lines has ended in a dead halt upon the second or the third.

Conceivably the Germans have again set out to "hack their way through" Flanders. But the last attempt, with every advantage in their favor, was costly and profitless. A general and sweeping success five months later is almost unthinkable.

On the other hand, by taking the offensive now the Germans may fairly hope to force the Allies to conform to their attacks. They may expect to relieve pressure in Alsace and French Lorraine by their own operations in Flanders. Above all, they will put an end to a condition wholly intolerable to German high com-

mand in which the German forces in the west are everywhere on the defensive.

It is plain now that for their present operation the Germans have withdrawn troops from the East Prussian frontier. Floods and thaws have made this region impassable for many weeks; hence the Germans in this field have been released for western operations. Probably not a few regiments which shared in the victory at the Mazurian Lakes are now in the line before Ypres. Others are unquestionably appearing in the Carpathians and contributing to the patent check to Russian advance.

In sum, as it now appears, the second battle of Ypres is a purely local engagement, marked by desperate fighting and huge losses, but hardly as serious a battle as that of November, when the whole battle line in France and Belgium was placed in jeopardy and the Kaiser came within an ace of winning to Napoleon's cliff at Boulogne and carrying his front, if not to the walls of Paris, at least to Amiens and the Somme. What the Germans have so far won is an admirable counterpoise to Allied gains at Hill No. 60 and at Neuve Chapelle. The moral effect is not to be minimized. That Germany is able to resume the offensive with such violence and success will be an unpleasant surprise to all Allied observers. But it is too soon to talk of a "new drive to the Channel" or another attempt to take Calais.

## Veto the Direct Tax Bill!

All the talk about Governor Whitman's exercising great care in pruning the appropriation bills is beside the mark, so far as any benefit to this city is concerned. If he wants to help New York City and reduce the next budget \$14,000,000 he must veto the direct tax bill.

The appropriation bills should be pruned. If they at all resemble every other set of appropriation bills sent to the Executive by greedy, log-rolling legislators, they are full of "pork"—of items grabbing state money for purely local purposes in upstate counties and towns—all for the glory of the lawmakers who are thus able to foist local expenditures on to the state treasury. There is no right, no justice in that. Such items should be deleted.

The Governor undoubtedly will find great opportunity for the exercise of vigilance in guarding against salary raises and undue department expenditures provided for in items adroitly slipped into the bills. These attempts to squander the state's money should be defeated by him, obviously, and such vigilance will help New York City to just the extent that it diminishes state expenses generally and tends to reduce taxation in future.

All this, however, will not be one cent's worth of benefit to the metropolis in 1916. For such aid only the death of the direct tax bill will suffice. If it be not vetoed, New Yorkers will have their next tax rate raised 17.5 points by that alone, and they will know where to visit their resentment.

## Mr. Daniels's Weak Defence.

Secretary Daniels has given out for publication a letter written by him to President Garfield of Williams College, in which he seeks to defend his administration of the Navy Department. The defence is thoroughly disingenuous, since it dodges all the real issues raised by Mr. Daniels's critics.

It is easy enough to say, as the Secretary does, that the navy has more ships on its roster and more ships actually in commission than it had two years ago, when he took office. We have been spending money for years on a building programme which aimed at a maximum of strength not yet attained, and the navy is bound to be a little larger each year until the limit of expansion is reached. We are also building much bigger battleships than we built five or ten years ago, so that the fleet is growing much more powerful as it gets larger. These are mere commonplaces of the situation. Yet Mr. Daniels exploits them as if they somehow redounded to his personal credit as a naval administrator.

Nobody disputes the fact that there are many splendid fighting units in our navy. We also have an efficient, though insufficient, personnel. But a number of good units in two or three classes of ships do not constitute an adequate naval establishment. What all intelligent critics have complained of in Mr. Daniels's policy is that it fails utterly to realize that we need a navy able to meet the searching tests of war, because rounded out completely in all departments, comprising the best types in all classes, fully supplied with auxiliaries and bases and having a personnel ample for all emergencies. At present we have no battle cruisers and are short on all kinds of auxiliaries, and our personnel is 18,500 below the proper strength.

The European war has opened the eyes of the world to the value of thoroughness of military preparation. Yet, Mr. Daniels is satisfied to keep our navy in a state of semi-preparedness. In the last year there has been an opportunity such as has never been offered since the Civil War to strengthen the fleet. Public opinion is educated up to the reorganization which has been so long delayed. Even Congress has been more ready to take up the task of making good our naval deficiencies than the head of the Navy Department has been. He has done more than anybody else in Washington to put the brakes on healthy and necessary naval development.

He boasts to Mr. Garfield that five battle-ships have been authorized in the last two years. One of these was authorized to replace the Idaho and Mississippi, which were sold to Greece. The other four merely made good past deficiencies in the building programme. At the last session of Congress Mr. Daniels turned down the General Board's recommendation of four new battleships and asked Congress for a smaller increase of the fleet than Congress actually voted.

Worst of all, his personal opposition

blasted all hope of establishing that centralized, responsible military control which is the greatest need of the navy. If he had consented the navy would now have to all intents and purposes a general staff. But he begrudged surrendering that expert civilian control through his own office which has done more than anything else to hamper the development of the navy as a fighting force.

On all these counts the Secretary has nothing to say. There is nothing that he can say. On the face of the facts he stands convicted of having played the part of a stand-patter when the greatest chance of a generation offered to reconstruct our naval system and to make our fleet, not in a few respects, but in all respects, what it ought to be.

## An Abortive Invasion.

As Mr. F. T. Jane is not only one of the soberest of the English naval critics but perhaps the best informed of all the chroniclers of current naval events, he probably spoke with authority the other day when he made the surprising announcement that an invasion of England had been headed off by the timely intervention of the British fleet.

It has, of course, been conjectured, and not without a show of reason, that the occasion was the abortive and seemingly aimless raid on the East Anglian coast. This performance was thought to have been designed for merely destructive purposes, possibly to appease popular impatience at home and to show that the German navy was not altogether idle. Officially, however, it was vaguely hinted at the time that a larger enterprise was in hand, and it may possibly be that the purpose was to bring about a new disposition of the British fleet in such sort as to facilitate landing operations. There can, in any case, be no doubt that this aim was suspected, for whether information had or had not been received of an imminent invasion, it was made very clear by the First Lord on the following day in Parliament that on no consideration whatever would there be any change in the policy of the Admiralty with regard to the defence of the coast.

The second German excursion, resulting in the loss of the Blücher, may have been an attempt to repeat the experiment, but for the rest circumstances used to elaborate Mr. Jane's hint must be mainly conjectural. The best reason for supposing that the attack on Scarborough was part of such a plan is that the hypothesis of a projected invasion would serve to account for a feat which seems otherwise absurd and unaccountable.

"There is not one page of international law which has not been torn up," says Dr. Dernburg. Is this a boast or an expression of regret?

"Dry Sunday." Rush Tires Bartenders.—Tribune Headline.

Almost as dry as some of the prohibition states.

Why doesn't the Board of Aldermen name a committee to investigate state finance?

At the least the Legislature "vindicated" Prendergast of Painted Post.

Colonel Roosevelt has been a ready letter writer as well as an historian.

Recruiting in Hampstead Heath.

Near the flagstaff on Hampstead Heath the first meeting drew the usual miscellaneous collection of promenaders, but with a noticeably large number of men of military age. The Spaniards Road is a resort of youths of the sportive kind. From the little van pitched under the bursting chestnuts in Heath House garden there poured an earnest stream of appeal. The speakers are of all the parties, in accordance with the war, the Liberal candidate speaking in the morning and the Conservative member in the afternoon. The van, whence no doubt fierce party rhetoric resounded in the age before the war, was radiant with patriotic art. There was not much immediate response. The Hampstead promenaders are so used to the preaching of "antism" and "antism" that they have become hardened. Thoughtless youths on motorcycles rushed past the meeting with derisive shrieks on their horns. The vital difference between the grave call of the recruiting meetings and the old harmless warfare of the platform seemed to strike no one this morning. The claret-faced recruiting sergeant patiently searched the fringes of the crowd for volunteers, but seemed to meet with little luck. Perhaps the meeting would have gone better with a band. One or two names, it is true, were entered in the sergeant's yellow book, and perhaps one or two names after such a meeting is considered a reasonable haul. A stone's throw from the recruiting meeting a person in a crimson tie, with a face curiously distorted by bitterness, was trying to instil virulent doubts into a small crowd. The silence which followed this anti-recruiter was listened to with suggestive of the calmness of the public mood. During the Boer war it would have needed more courage to make such a speech at the flagstaff than to go to the front. The promenaders gave him a patient and quite indifferent hearing, and even the soldiers back from France didn't seem to mind.

## Japan's Demands from China.

To the Editor of The Tribune.  
Sir: "The Chinese Students' Monthly" desires to avail itself of the presence in New York this week of the members of The Associated Press, of the National Publishers' Association and of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association to thank you for the splendid world service you have performed under unfortunate, discouraging circumstances in endeavoring to report and to interpret to the people of America the course of serious and far-reaching negotiations now proceeding between Japan and China. We realize the difficult task which confronts you, in view of the fact that Japan is attempting to muzzle the Chinese government under threat, first, of the exercise of force, and second, the increasing of her already exorbitant demands.

We appreciate the fact that the details of diplomatic negotiations must perforce remain secret. However, in justice to China, to the United States and to the other nations having vital interests in China, we ask you to continue to do your best to unfold for the information of all concerned as authentic a statement as possible of just what Japan demands from China, especially those portions of her demands affecting treaty obligations and the integrity of China. We make this suggestion with the hope that if such a statement is forthcoming the eyes of the world will be opened to the actual trend of what is passing at Peking, and public opinion will be able to exert its great influence in the preservation of peace in the Far East.

H. K. KWONG,  
Editor "The Chinese Students' Monthly."  
New York, April 22, 1915.

## ROOSEVELT NO MOSES

Yet Republican Record at Albany Strengthens a Progressive in the Faith.  
To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Strange and wonderful things have happened before this, and it may be (God speed the day!) that The New York Tribune will cease to be a Republican newspaper and become what a reader of its editorials would imagine it to be, a great Progressive party publication. I humbly apologize to the shades of the lamented Horace Greeley for daring to affirm such a hope.

I have been a Progressive since the bloodless rebellion of 1912, and I confess that January 1, 1915, found me wavering in my allegiance to that party. I imagined (God pardon my ignorance!) that the good old Republican party in this state had found a sort of new Moses who was to lead it out of the land of political corruption into the glorious and beautiful path of good, honest, progressive principles and political decency. I woke up to find that the party which I believed in at one time with almost the same fervor I believe in God was not led by a Moses, but was being driven into destruction by a Presidential candidate.

I intend to remain a Progressive, and if I meet a brother who is wavering in his allegiance to that party all I need do to show him the right road is to point to the present Republican Legislature, to show him one or two Tribune editorials, especially the one in this morning's issue entitled "The Albany Record," and then introduce him to Mr. Barnes, of Albany, at present sojourning at Syracuse. PHILIP F. MALOY.  
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One sentence in your editorial in The Tribune of the 22d inst., in which you state that the weakness of many of the German appeals to neutral judgment "lies in the use of arguments presupposing ignorance on the part of those to whom they are addressed," was a happy definition of what might be termed the German psychology. Mr. Krebs exhibited profound contempt for the perspicacity, and I might even add the ordinary "horse sense," of the unprejudiced American reader, when

he flippantly glossed over, by the use of specious phraseology, the accounts of atrocities in Belgium which have been verified by most reliable authorities; but when, in view of the vandalism and incendiarism at Louvain and Rheims, he has the temerity to assert that these depredations were "obviously faked," although the effects produced are apparent to everybody in possession of his visual sense, he perhaps unconsciously, but none the less effectually, places his readers on the same plane of intelligence with that of the ostrich, which, hiding its head in the sand, believes it has thereby rendered its whole body invisible to its pursuer.

The reader need not be imbued with much cynicism who would feel impelled to smile sarcastically, if not sardonically, at your correspondent's reference to "straightforward" news, in view of the monumental falsehoods now known to have been disseminated pro bono publico in Berlin before the retreat of the Germans from before Paris, which pictured the latter city as captured and London on fire from the effects of German bombardment.

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## SPRING MIGRATION.



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## Straightforward News.

To the Editor of The Tribune.  
Sir: Your correspondent, William Krebs, in your issue of the 21st inst., in finding fault with the manner in which "all of the newspapers in New York" present the news of the war, furnishes one more instance of that intolerant, uncompromising attitude which the protagonists of German militarism, expansion and "Kultur" assume, in the hope of convincing the unsophisticated reader of the "righteousness" of the German "cause."

One sentence in your editorial in The Tribune of the 22d inst., in which you state that the weakness of many of the German appeals to neutral judgment "lies in the use of arguments presupposing ignorance on the part of those to whom they are addressed," was a happy definition of what might be termed the German psychology. Mr. Krebs exhibited profound contempt for the perspicacity, and I might even add the ordinary "horse sense," of the unprejudiced American reader, when

he flippantly glossed over, by the use of specious phraseology, the accounts of atrocities in Belgium which have been verified by most reliable authorities; but when, in view of the vandalism and incendiarism at Louvain and Rheims, he has the temerity to assert that these depredations were "obviously faked," although the effects produced are apparent to everybody in possession of his visual sense, he perhaps unconsciously, but none the less effectually, places his readers on the same plane of intelligence with that of the ostrich, which, hiding its head in the sand, believes it has thereby rendered its whole body invisible to its pursuer.

The reader need not be imbued with much cynicism who would feel impelled to smile sarcastically, if not sardonically, at your correspondent's reference to "straightforward" news, in view of the monumental falsehoods now known to have been disseminated pro bono publico in Berlin before the retreat of the Germans from before Paris, which pictured the latter city as captured and London on fire from the effects of German bombardment.

## The Conning Tower

A Quarter